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Anti-Buchanania: A Mini-Encyclopedia

by Murray N. Rothbard

One of the horselaughs of our age is the Respectable Media. The media, in the midst of their unrelenting smears and calumny against Pat Buchanan, once in a while will pause to ask themselves this imbecile question: Why are the media being so soft on Buchanan? Well, the gloves, gentlemen, if you haven't noticed, have been off for a long time, and Pat is being assaulted with tire chains and baseball bats. And Pat is facing it all, all his tormentors, like a true American Hero, like John Wayne and Gary Cooper and all the good guys, never saying Uncle, never recanting, never grovelling before the jackal pack, always firing back as good as he gets, with determination and tremendous courage, and great good humor. And never, ever does he stoop to propitiating the terrible and vengeful gods of Political Correctness. God bless him, I don't know how he does it.

The Wallace Attack

Perhaps Pat's finest hour was on the *Nightline* program, Wednesday March 11. Pat was obviously dog-tired, right after Super Tuesday, and after going through a punishing campaign schedule. And here was vicious hatchet-kid Chris Wallace, armed and ready for battle. The stage was first set by the usual "anti-Semite" garbage put forth by ex-*New York Times* managing editor Abe Rosenthal, point man of the anti-Pat cabal. And yet every succeeding smear and piece of calumny by Wallace was hammered right back by Pat in trenchant and magnificent salvos. On the "anti-women" lines used in a Bush attack ad and the charge that he had written in a column, "the momma bird builds the nest." Pat shot right back with, "Well, the momma bird *does* build the nest, Chris", and went on to a spirited blast against feminists for demeaning the home-making choices of Pat's mother and most of the female population throughout history. On the anti-Semitic canard paddled by a little band of extremist hecklers led by Rabbi Avi Weiss (the guy who led a crew climbing

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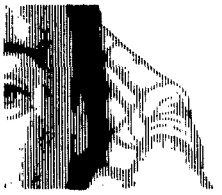

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

If Hillary Clinton is one of the top lawyers in the country, how come she has to keep apologizing for her wisecracks? Let's put it this way: would you want her handling *your* legal affairs?

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Maybe Slick Willie Clinton *didn't* inhale those marijuana cigarettes; he may have had other interests. He was known to his gubernatorial security detail as "the snowman."

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In his introduction to part two of "In Pursuit of Anti-Semitism," Bill Buckley protests that he had planned his assault on Pat Buchanan long before the presidential cam-

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INSIDE

The J.F.K. Flap, by M.N.R. 14

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
paign, and did not see why he should postpone it. "For heaven's sake," he asks, "why get in the way of a genuine protest candidate?" In fact, although he has been working on a book (*One Reform*?) ever since Abe Rosenthal assigned it to him, Bill had not planned to print anything in *NR* so soon. He speeded up his smear so it would appear well before the New Hampshire primary.

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Miffed at those who point out—correctly—that he never defined anti-Semitism (it's so much more useful if it can be smeared on anyone), Bill praised a reader's definition: "dislike or disapproval of a) even of Jews one has never met and b) of any corporate objectives identifiable as of special concern to prominent and vociferous Jews."

Dislike Alan Dershowitz even though you've never met him? Oppose the $23 billion U.S. loan guarantee ($10 billion being just the first installment) to built condos for Russian emigres on the West Bank? Then you're Hitler.

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The "manifestations" of anti-Semitism are "many and varied," says Bill: "the little exclamation, the single comment direct or oblique, the blurt, the cocked eyebrow." The cocked eyebrow? Are we now to have, in addition to the thought constabulary, facial police?

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Joe Sobran has never written an awkward or uninteresting sentence, but his response in *NR* to the Buckley libel is extraordinary even for him. No wonder Midget Decter, Norm Podhoretz, Irv Kristol, Bill Bennett, and the rest of the neocons are furious with Bill Buckley for publishing it.

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The Ear hears that Libertarian Party prez nominee Andre Marrou can't campaign in some states because he'd be arrested. For example, he owes $58,000 in back child support in Massachusetts and is wanted by Alaska for non-disclosure, when as a state rep, of a sweetheart deal with a land appraiser. Andre is also being sought by the credit card company for his 51-92 PAC.

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A 48-page history of Andre's financial and ethical escapades was prepared by ex-Marrou campaign aide Michael Emerling. Perry Willis and Jim Lewis, Andre's present aides, added their own list of Andre's capers, and the package was sent to the national committee of the LP. That body spent a weekend discussing the charges and then voted: 1) to take control of the Marrou campaign away from Andre; 2) to cover-up Andre's wrongdoing; and 3) to fire Perry and Jim for telling them about it!

The boys were stunned by their firing and by the cover-up. You'd think, after all their years in the LP, they'd have wised up: whenever the LP learns about problems, they circle the wagon, stonewall, and try to plug the leaks (and the leakers). "Party of Principle," hah!

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One of the LP's national officers, defending the purge of Perry and Jim, admitted it was an attempt to keep news of Andre's misdeeds quiet. When informed that the LP's own platform attacks the firing of whistle-blowers, this guy replied: "But that only applies to *government*!"

I always suspected it: the Libertarian creed says that *government* crookery is terrible, but that there's nothing wrong with *private* fraud, mooching, and deadbeatism!

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Dan Quayle began a recent speech to AIPAC with "Fellow Zionists." Since the central tenet of Zionism is wanting all Jews to move to Israel, why isn't it anti-Semitic for a gentile to be a Zionist?

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An unsung hero of the Buchanan campaign is Roger McCaffrey. Son of conservative giant (and *RRR* charter subscriber) Neil of the Conservative Book Club, Roger had gotten almost no credit until the *Los Angeles Times* reported in early March that he had raised $3.6 million of the $4 million thirteen-week Buchanan total—a record in direct mail.

Left-Republican Ann Stone—ex-wife to the creepy Roger Stone—called reports of Roger McCaffrey's results "not entirely credible. Ronald Reagan didn't do that well." That's right, Ann. Instead of using mercenaries

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who take a big percentage off the top, the campaign hired a direct-mail genius and honest man.

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Poor Nips! They're like Innocents Abroad, or Rip Van Winkle returning to the world after a long detour. When MacArthur "reeducated" them, they absorbed the lessons too well: on the virtues of hard work, thrift, and free competition, on giving up militarism and turning to economic pursuits. So they competed, gave up militarism, became democratic, and did spectacularly well, and what do they get for it? Nothing but grief.

They get attacked for outcompeting America at her own game, for selling better products at lower prices. They gave up the military, and they get attacked for not bearing their "fair share" of UN-promoted wars. And, most Politically Incorrect of all, they look around them, see problems, and bless them! call them as they see them.

They point to racial deficiencies in America, to lazy and irresponsible workers, to overpaid corporate executives whose firms lose money, and they get blasted from one end of the country to the other. And so, confused, sensing they must have said *something* wrong in the minds of the tomfool Yankees, they hasten to apologize, retract, without realizing that American culture has changed drastically from the days of MacArthur. Notice, Nips, none of your critics rebuts your arguments, or says that what you've said is wrong: just that it was terribly sinful for you to *say* it.

Americans are like those monkeys that stubbornly refuse to see, hear, or speak evil. Poor Nips! Maybe MacArthur's lesson-books also taught them about the virtues of candor and of robust social and political debate. Sorry, buddies, they went and changed the rules on you.

Well, I do my bit; I *only* Buy Japanese. I won't touch any car or any piece of consumer electronics unless I am assured that, despite the Anglo name, the product is *really* made in Japan. Let's hear it for the Rising Sun and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere!

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"The word around town," reports *The Washington Monthly*, "is that Bill Clinton may be home free on the Gennifer Flowers problem. Bush and his associates are said to have been mightily impressed" by Democratic consultant Bob Squier's point that "talk about Gennifer will lead to talk about Jennifer," Bush's squeeze since vice presidential days. Both "women were 'taken care of' with government jobs. The one hazard remaining for Clinton is that Gennifer may sue him under the equal protection clause when she learns that Jennifer is making $112,000 compared to her measly $17,000."

Let's hear it for the Rising Sun and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere!

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Charles Koch has established, in Mother Wichita no less, the Koch Institute for Management. Already, it has 40 employees. This shows how serious Charles is about "market-based management." Never before has he put his own name on one of his organizations, or headquartered it in Wichita, where he can keep a constant eye on it. Eat your heart out, Eddie Crane or anyone else wanting to get on or stay on the Koch gravy train. It's the End of Ideology (for Charles if not for America).

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Richie Fink, chief aide to Charles Koch and chief enemy to Ed Crane, has fired another scud at his old foe. Charles used to fund (along with almost everything else at Cato) a summer internship program that the sexual-diversity aficionados really loved, so to speak. Now, not only has Charles pulled his funding for this and other Cato programs, but the Koch Foundation is starting its own Washington, D.C., summer program to compete with what's left of Cato's.

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Veteran Left-libertarian Dagny Sharon may be the ultimate female Modal. Naming herself after an Ayn Rand heroine, Dagny first burst upon the libertarian scene in Florida, signing her letters with a dollar sign through the S. After that, she landed, inevitably, in Southern California. Now, in the April *Reason*, she has a letter asserting that most sex, "in America and around the world," is "consensual rape," a "fact" known only to women. Look, Sharon dear, "consensual rape" is an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms. Keep it up, and people will be dropping the oxy.

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Speaking of *Reason*, the same issue has a glowing account of Andre Marrou and his 15 minutes of fame in Dixville Notch. This is the first time *ever* that *Reason* has expressed any enthusiasm for a Libertarian Party nominee. How come? Polarization! Paleos vs. Left-nihilos, who are all drawing together, propelled by their common hate. (A naughty friend of mine asks: "How could Libertarians *not* do well in a town called Dixville?")

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Ed Crane is now a formal advisor to the William Weld '96 presidential campaign. Billy is an arch-interventionist in foreign and economic affairs, and bad (from a Left-libertarian standpoint, anyway) on criminal justice. That is, he's anti- criminal. But none of that matters. He's a social leftist, which is all that counts, in the end, to Ed. What about Pete DuPont? Ed now says he was never too enamored because Pete didn't care about gay rights.

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Ed, ex-duce of the Libertarian Party, is also toying with the idea of reentering it. Now that Charles Koch has cut him off and the two Rs have left, Ed is dreaming LP dreams once again. If he does take power, he's telling associates, his first act will be a "night of the long knives" for the entire present leadership, national and state. Go, Ed, go.

Ed Crane is dreaming LP dreams once again. If he does take power, his first act will be a "night of the long knives."

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Why is it, when I see the word "libertarian" in the press, that it almost invariably means wacko? The London *Financial Times* writes of an English private school with a "libertarian ethos": "Everyone, whether child or adult, has an equal vote in making the rules, and lessons are voluntary."

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The Koch-financed Center for the Study of Market Processes (CSMP) at George Mason University is no more. At the orders of Richie Fink, GMU Profs. Don Lavoie, Jack High, and Jerry Ellig have dissolved CSMP, which had been based in the economics department, and established a new off-campus Center for Market-Based Management (CMBM).

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The venerable Institute for Humane Studies is virtually no more as well. It will be moved off campus into the same office complex as the CMBM and turned into another center for market-based management. Only some last-ditch opposition from the IHS board prevented Charles Koch from actually merging IHS into CMBM. But that's only a legal distinction, since CMBM and IHS will be under the same leadership, and since the IHS staff will be purged. Friends worry especially about what will happen to libertarian giants Leonard Liggio and Walter Grinder.

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Ed Crane and the Craniacs are calling Charles Koch "crazy" for cutting off Cato. Seems like an eminently sane act to me, guys.

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Ed—who must not be too busy these Kochless days—has been personally lobbying writers for the *Free Market*, newsletter of the Mises Institute, to stop writing for it. ■

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(Anti-Buchanania. . .cont. from P.1) over the wall of the Carmelite convent on the grounds of Oswiecim [Auschwitz]): that Pat had told this little group of half-dozen at an outdoor rally at Marietta, Georgia, that "this is a rally of Americans and for Americans, my friends". Pat replied that this was a comment he habitually makes *to the entire gathering*, and to every gathering he goes to, directed to all the foreign "agents of influence," e.g. British journalists. The message being that the Buchanan campaign is directed for American interests, and *not* in the interests of any foreign government. In short, this is a summary of Pat's "America First" foreign policy, and a rejection of any New World Order. Pat added a great zinger: that this was the same Rabbi Weiss who had defended the treasonable action of Jonathan Pollard, who had been convicted of spying on American military secrets and giving them to Israel. Boy, did Wallace change *that* subject fast!

After Pat denied he was a "racist," Wallace smirked: "Well, which group did you mean when you said that this is a far worse Washington than when you had grown up, when people now play bongo drums on the street?" Pat again struck back: "Why *liberals*, of course, Chris, which group did you think I meant? I grew up in a Washington that was half-white and half-black, and it was a harmonious city and none of these problems existed then, before liberalism." Pat then noted the problems that can be caused by an influx of Hispanic and other non-English-speaking immigrants.

Thwarted at every step, Chris Wallace thought he could get in the ultimate crusher. Using an argument so absurd that it could qualify as Logical Fallacy 101, Wallace sneered: "Well, if you're not any of these things ("racist," "fascist," "anti-Semite," "homophobic,", etc.) why is it that the media have been calling you all this for the last several weeks?" Only media stars infatuated with their own importance would use such an argument. But Wallace had not reckoned with Pat Buchanan's intelligence and articulateness. "For two reasons, Chris," Pat shot back: "First, because I am now challenging the power of the White House, and second, because you liberals are afraid of the power of my ideas, and are smearing me with these labels in a desperate attempt to shut off the national debate." Attaboy, Pat!

Finally, pitdog Wallace thought he'd get in his final shot. "Mr. Buchanan, do you intend to reach out to blacks, Jews, and women in your campaign?" Should have been the clincher, right? What politically correct person in today's America does not want to "reach out and touch someone," especially the alleged Oppressed?

But Pat was magnificent: "Chris, I believe with all my heart in the equal rights of every American."

"But. . ."

". . .and I strongly oppose special privileges for any individual or group."

(In Georgia, a black minister had asked Pat: "Are you in favor of civil rights?" "I'm in favor of the rights of every American," leaving the minister sputtering. Great! Turning the tables on our oppressors. . . who can come out against equal rights for all?)

Defeated at last, the venomous Chris Wallace, beaten and battered, looked down at the table, and in a rare moment on network television, his face a blend of dismay and fury. Wallace had been trounced; he had failed in the task his masters had set out for him.

It was a moment to be treasured, a moment for song and story; over the years, the Buchanan Brigades should sit around the hearth and the TV set, replay the videotape and read the transcript. It will become a part of the Buchanan Legend, a prelude to the Age of Buchanan to come.

Anti-Buchanania

We now proceed with a mini-encyclopedia of the typical, warmed-over anti-Buchanan charges, with commentary added.

1. America First.

And therefore, goes the charge, pro-Nazi, like Lindbergh before World War II.

Contrary to myth, the America First Committee (AFC) was *not* pro-Nazi; that was always a despicable smear, peddled by the Communists, the arch-interventionists, and the Roosevelt Administration. The Committee was a noble group of people, constituting a veritable cross-section of America—from Left (Norman Thomas, Federick C.Libby),

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to Liberal (Chester Bowles, William Benton), to Center to Right. The common ground was a pro-American policy of keeping the United States out of foreign wars. Neither was Lindbergh pro-Nazi; after the war, it turned out that the Roosevelt smears had been totally and knowingly untrue, and that in fact Lindbergh, when he visited Nazi Germany and received a medal, was specifically doing so in order to carry out an espionage mission greatly desired by the U.S. military.

Neither did the AFC originate the America First message. This policy harks back to such revered founders of the republic as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson; it was the traditional foreign policy of the United States. It was not cooked up in the 1930s.

2. *Angry.*

Pat is continually denounced as "angry." This charge is an absurd conflation of hard-hitting political discourse, and a person's emotional state. Hard-hitting, radical politics, opposition to the *status quo*, may be called "political anger", but such locution is confusing, for it connotes a person's emotions. *Look at* Pat, will ya; just look at him. Does he *look angry* to you? Of course not; he's obviously happy, laughing, witty, enjoying himself, enjoying speaking on politics and meeting supporters. Pat is truly the Happy Warrior of contemporary politics.

You know who's *really* angry? Jerry Brown: always scowling, never smiling, always ranting on about money. But how come that the media totally fails to identify the one candidate who's really, personally angry?

The problem is that, in our current culture, no one is used to principle, to candor, to speaking one's mind and heart, to anyone being clear, firm, principled, and unapologetic about expressing one's views. What we are used to is fudging, blather, appealing to everyone of every view, to spoon-fed pap. What we call being "sincere" is handing out a booklet of inchoate economic and social "plans" for spending more taxpayer money. For anyone to charge into and challenge the existing system, as Jefferson did when he wrought a revolution against Federalism, or Andrew Jackson when he developed a new Democratic party to overturn one-party neo-Federalism, now puzzles and sends shivers up the spine of intellectuals and media pundits. But only a challenge from the *Right*, of course; Jesse Jackson, with his dimwit rope-a-dope rhymes, was treated as a serious radical pushing the country a bit faster in the direction that all liberals wanted to go.

Remember when Harry Truman was not denounced for being "angry," but cheered on with "Give 'Em Hell, Harry?"

3. *Anti-Semite.*

I have countered this canard many times in *RRR* and, most succinctly, in the *L.A. Times* (Jan. 6) ("Buchanan an Anti-Semite? It's a Smear!"). But something else needs to be said. In the United States, above all, this entire line of attack is absurd and amounts to crying "Wolf!" on a monumental scale. From all the hysteria, one would think that America is a land where Jews are continually being persecuted and on the edge of being shipped off to concentration camps. And yet, almost alone of countries in the Western world, Jews have never—ever—been persecuted in the United States. Not only that: there has never even been any sort of realistic chance that Jews *would* be persecuted. There has never even been any sort of serious movement to oppress Jews in the United States. And don't bring up the German-American Bund, which never amounted to a hill of beans. Get serious!

And don't give me the bilge about Hitler starting with only twelve people. Hitler did not create anti-Semitism in Germany or Austria; when he started, after World War I, he lived and functioned within a substantial and even pervasive

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anti-Semitic culture. There was and is no such political culture, or anything approaching it, in the United States. By the 1890's, Kurt Lueger had been elected Mayor of Vienna on an Anti-Semitic Party ticket, a party that had flourished in reaction to a massive inflow of Jews from Galicia and other areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the last half of the nineteenth century. In Germany, anti-Semitism flourished in the wake of a crushing defeat in World War I. None of this is in any way applicable to American conditions.

There has been one and only one religious group, however, that has been in numerous ways persecuted in the United States, although limited by the First Amendment and by a tradition of religious freedom. That group, ironically enough in the context of our pervasive Buchananophobia, is the Catholic Church. During colonial times, fierce anti-Catholicism permeated most Protestant Americans, even though there were very few Catholics around, except for a small number of aristocratic Englishmen who had emigrated to Maryland, a colony originally designed as a haven for English Catholics. Most Protestants in the United States, then and throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, were firmly convinced that the Pope in Rome was the Anti-Christ, and that all Catholics are therefore conscious and dedicated instruments of Satan. During the nineteenth century, most Protestants, especially in the North, believed it was their sacred mission to use the government as "God's major instrument of salvation" (as it was well put by one historian) to establish a Kingdom of God on Earth. The establishment of that perfect Kingdom involved using the government to stamp out sin, and the two prime examples of such sin were considered to be alcohol in any form ("Demon Rum") and the Catholic Church. Prohibition was the remedy for the first; and, while it was clearly unconstitutional to eradicate Catholicism or Catholics directly, a favorite indirect goal was to "Christianize the Catholic" children by forcing them into what amounted to a Protestantizing public school.

There has been one and only one religious group that has been in numerous ways persecuted in the United States: the Catholic Church.

Say the words "Ku Klux Klan," and most people think of "racist" or "anti-Semite." The original Klan was, of course, an instrument for Southern whites to combat Northern military occupation and Northern Reconstruction. But the resurrected Klan, which was powerful in the North in the 1920's, is now largely forgotten. The major focus of the post-World War I Klan was neither on blacks nor Jews, but on anti-Catholicism. The highwater mark of the Klan was the passage of the Oregon law, in the early 1920's, outlawing all private schooling, and thereby forcing all kids into the public school system. Even nowadays, neither the Left nor the neocons have attained that common goal. Fortunately, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the Oregon measure as unconstitutional.

So how come Catholics have never made it to the status of Accredited Victims in our Age of Victomology? Stop smearing Pat, dammit; he's a member of an Oppressed Group!

4. Bully-Boy.

Ah, stop with this nonsense already! Aren't *you* at last sick of the supposedly sensational fact that Pat used to fight when he was a young lad? Is he suddenly the only guy in America who ever duked it out as a teenager or in his early twenties?

This charge, too, is a conflation of the personal and the political. The fact that one is hard-hitting, clear and firm in principle, and someone who wants radical change in the current political system, does *not* mean that one is a physical bully, beating up on kids and cripples. Why didn't anyone refer to the sainted Martin Luther King as a "bully-boy"? Maybe he had some fights as a kid, too. Eldridge Cleaver is an admitted ex-rapist, and went to jail for that crime. Why isn't he

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habitually referred to as "that rapist"?

5. David Duke in Coat and Tie.

Has anyone noticed that David Duke habitually wears a coat and tie? Does anyone care?

6. Fascist.

Happily, the Bolshevik Comintern is dead, but don't deny that the Menshevik-Neocon-intern (as Lew Rockwell calls it) is alive and well. Clearly, some time around the end of February, the Menshevik Politburo met, and resolved: "Well, fellas, this anti-Semitism charge against Pat Buchanan isn't working. It's time to pull out all the stops. It's time to call him a 'fascist' ".

And so it was done. The first pronouncement was by the dour shrink-"theoretician" of the neocons, Charles Krauthammer. Laying down the neocon line in his syndicated column of March 1 in the *Washington Post*, Krauthammer said, in effect: "the charge of anti-Semitism against Pat misses the central point. It's not just that Buchanan is an 'anti-Semite.' He's a...fascist!" In the melee, no one noticed that Krauthammer was harking back to the Communist line handed down by the Comintern in the 1930's: lumping together all non-socialist opponents of the Communist line, wherever they be, in whatever country, as "fascists." Hitler and the Nazis were "German fascists;" Franco was a "Spanish fascist"; the Iron Guard were "Romanian fascists" and...Charles Lindbergh and the American First Committee were to be labelled and libelled as "American fascists." In that way, all rightist opponents of Bolshevism were to be tarred with the allegedly monolithic "fascist" brush. And the Menshies and other Socialists? They were tarred as "social fascists." It was this charge that stuck in the craw of the Menshies, the Trotskyites, and all the other Social Democrats. The Menshies were pushing for a united Left front against "fascism," including the Bolsheviks, and here were the Bolsheviks betraying the beloved "anti-fascist" coalition, and lumping them—them!—together with the fascist enemy. It was a charge that the Social Democrats could never forgive, and finally with the collapse of Bolshevik Communism, they had their revenge.

And now, thinking themselves in extremis, the neocons, the heirs of the Marxist-Menshevik-Trotskyite tradition, searching for a blunderbuss to use against Pat Buchanan, search back into their tribal memories, and hiss out their charge...fascist! When push comes to shove, all the patina of "conservatism," of the "social free market", of "democratic capitalism" and the rest, all goes by the board. It could be 1938 again, eh, comrades?

And there it all was, in the Krauthammer column, entitled "Buchanan Explained." Every "ism" and every bogey from the old days: "Anti-Semitism;" (see *above*); "Nativism" (see *below*); authoritarianism; "Franco!" (see *below*); "Isolationism; "(see *below*); "racism" (see *below*); "Hitler!" (see *below*); "anti-intellectualism" [Hey, Mr. Theoretician: I'll put up Pat's intellect, learning, and respect for ideas against yours any day in the week!]; the Holocaust; "Peronism" (Huh?); "ersatz populism" (thereby smearing populism by attaching a German World War II name to it—and you know what *German* is, right? Hitler!);—and on and on in a veritable delirium of hate, an orgy of inchoate and hysterical malevolence that has rarely been seen in the "respectable" American media.

Perhaps the most bizarre note struck by Krauthammer is that the capstone of his case, the final proof for him that Buchanan has become a fascist, is that Pat is now a "protectionist"! in a grotesque, almost psychotic, article by this neocon shrink, nothing is weirder than this. But this topic deserves separate exploration (See "Protectionist", *below*.)

Well, no sooner did Krauthammer lay down his odious line, when, a few hours later, on the Brinkley program, Bill Bennett, the neocons' favorite thug, quoted Krauthammer enthusiastically, and opined that Pat Buchanan is "Flirting with fascism." Coincidence? Not hardly. And pitdog Chris Wallace wanted to know a couple of weeks lateer, why this "fascist" accusation was all over the media. Perhaps now we have a clue. Bennett's accusation came with particular hypocrisy from the man who wants every kid in the United States, from pre-school on, to be corralled into the public school system and be under the thrall of a nationalized public

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school cadre that follows the kid from early years to graduation. If "fascism" means anything, it means central government control of the economy, of society, of human life. Pat Buchanan undoubtedly looks with dismay upon any State control of education, on any State seizure of responsibility from the parents and from the family. And Pat is supposed to be a "fascist"?!

In reality, there is no such thing as generic "fascism." Fascism was no monolith. When Lawrence Dennis, the isolationist and theoretician, was shanghaied into a mass "sedition" trial with many other disparate isolationists during World War II, Dennis answered the charge of fascism by saying "Fascist? Fascist? That's ridiculous. I was never a member of the Fascist Party of Italy."

The only genuine fascists were Mussolini and the Fascist Party of Italy. And even they did not have a coherent ideology.

While at first sight, Dennis's answer may seem like sardonic pettifogging, he was actually making a crucial point. For indeed the only genuine fascists were Mussolini and the Fascist Party of Italy. And even they did not have a coherent ideology. The corporate state, or proto-New Deal, system only came into fascism in the mid-1920's. In the years before that, the fascist regime was far closer to the free-market liberalism. Franco (see "Franco" *below*) was never a fascist *at all*; when he took power, he quickly subordinated the *Falange* party, the Spanish analogue to fascism, and never instituted a corporatist regime.

And on and on. The America Firsters had no resemblance to fascism whatever. As for Hitler and the Nazis, they weren't fascists either. The fascist impulse throughout Europe had one thing in common: authoritarian movements dedicated to preserving the existing order, usually a previously stable triad of army, State, and Catholic Church. The fascist movements were reacting against the palpable threat from the Left that struck Europe as a plague in the wake of World War I: Bolshevism, proletarian socialism, communist or syndicalist anarchism—the latter especially in Catholic countries such as Italy and Spain. Mussolini had been a Socialist Party leader who broke with the party by favoring Italy's entry into World War I on the side of Britain, France, and Russia. Mussolini's Fascist movement was reacting against the postwar wave of strikes, and the threat of anarcho-syndicalism and of Bolshevism. Generalissimo Franco rose in rebellion against the savage Left rule of Socialists and Communist Anarchists.

While Hitler's regime was, in effect, called into being by the German reaction against the Carthaginian peace at Versailles, his movement was very different. Hitler sought not stability, but a revolutionary dynamic that would bring a New Order into being. The old estates—Church, State, and Army—were to be conquered and transformed into instruments of Hitler's and Nazi rule. The conquest of Europe envisioned in Hitler's New Order, for example, would have involved the settlement of Germans and the subjugation of Slavs in Ukraine and the rest of Eastern Europe. None of these radical goals were in any sense conservative or fascist.

But the Comintern said it, and the Neoconintern now supplies the echo.

7. Franco!

Spanish authoritarian and devoted Catholic, who rose up in rebellion against the Republican-Socialist-Trotskyite-Communist Anarchist regime that had embarked upon a program of confiscating abbeys and convents, of sacking churches, of murdering priests and raping nuns. In their zone, the crazed Communist Anarchists not only confiscated all property, but decreed and enforced the death penalty for the use of money. The Stalinists had little power at the beginning of the Civil War, but Bernard Bolloten has shown that the reason the Stalinists took over the Republican regime, was not simply the fact that

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the Republican armies were led by a Soviet general; more important was the fact, that on the extraordinarily looney Spanish left, *only* the Communist Party was willing to guarantee the private property of the bourgeoisie. As a result, in the Republican areas of Spain, the entire middle class flocked into the previously minuscule Communist Party. Franco rose up to save his nation and his Church from total destruction.

Furthermore, on the Jewish Question, neither Mussolini nor Franco was anti-Semitic. There were many Jews in the Italian Fascist party, and Mussolini only started persecuting Jews in the middle of World War II, under enormous pressure from Hitler. Franco not only never persecuted Jews, but he managed to save a large number of Jews from Nazi persecution.

After World War II, moreover, General Franco dropped a large number of statist controls, moved toward classical liberalism, and brought a modern and prosperous economy to Spain. It was an economy that was freer, and freer of street crime, than semi-socialist albeit "democratic" Spain is today.

All right: so Pat Buchanan and his devotedly Catholic father admired Franco. So what, for Spain, was the alternative? There was, in Spain, no classical liberal party worth talking about, and trying to find one would have been as futile a task as liberals trying to find a Third Force during the Vietnam War.

8. Hitler!

The vilest neocon charge is trying to link Pat Buchanan directly with Hitler (or, indirectly, via juxtaposition with David Duke). Apart from the generic "fascist" epithet, there are two usual specifics.

One is Pat's allegedly menacing defense of various American immigrant-citizens accused (but *not* convicted), seized by the scruff of the neck by a runaway, independent fiefdom in the federal Department of Justice (The Office of Special Investigations—OSI), subjected to a kangaroo court charging alleged immigrant fraud, and then deported either to Israel or to the Communist country of their birth to be killed as alleged "Nazi war criminals."

So Pat Buchanan and his devotedly Catholic father admired Franco. So what, for Spain, was the alternative?

It is intriguing that Pat Buchanan is supposed to be an enemy of civil liberties and a "nativist" (see *below*) hater of immigrants, and yet he is virtually the only person in American public life to object to this shanghaiing of immigrant-citizens and depriving them of the ordinary protections of American and Anglo-Saxon law. Pat was supposed to have been a particular offender in the case of John Demjanjuk, but now—to the embarrassment of the OSI and his enemies—it looks very much as if Demjanjuk was *not* the "Ivan the Terrible," of which he was convicted on trumped-up evidence.

The second charge, dredged up by the execrable Krauthammer, is that Pat, in a column fifteen years ago, referred to Hitler as a top organizer, an "individual of great courage," and a "soldier's soldier." Now, in the first place, this characterization is that of all scholars, almost all impeccably anti-Nazi, of the Third Reich. The kiddie-version of Hitler that has been put over on the American public—that he was, in the words of Pat's 1977 column, "a ranting, raving carpet-chewing Chaplin-esque buffoon" is obviously absurd. If he had been such a ranting nut, he would never have come to power, in a democratic election, in Germany, nor continued in office with the support of the German public. *All* popular leaders who take over great nations, *have* to have such qualities of organization, courage, etc. including Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, etc. Those qualities do not make these leaders any less despicable; on the contrary, evil in man has to be conscious, that is, has to flow from the perversion or corruption of what could have been great qualities in the

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service of goodness and justice. Stalin and Mao-tse-Tung, in short, were far more *evil* in that sense than some local halfwit rapist.

Secondly, we must look at the *context* of this column, carefully omitted in the web of evil spun by Krauthammer. Pat was saying that the Western Allies had underestimated the evil qualities of Hitler, and therefore wrongly sought to appease him, an appeasement which Pat denounced as "acts of weakness and betrayal." The context in which he wrote the column was to combat what he considered the similar appeasement by the United States, in the late 1970s, of Communist China.

Now, whether or not one agrees with Buchanan on the morality or the wisdom of "appeasement" of Hitler in the 1930s or of the Chinese in the 1970s, the point is that no rational or honest person reading Pat's column could possibly conclude that Pat is pro-Hitler, or pro-Nazi. (*Human Events* is to be commended for providing the full text of Pat's August 25, 1977, column in its issue of March 14, 1992). The fact that Krauthammer, and his neocon colleagues, could make and spread such an interpretation demonstrates that they are either stupid beyond belief, or blinded by irrational hate, or conscious liars and distorters—bearers of false witness.

Recently, paleoconservative economist, historian, and Biblical scholar Dr. Gary North has reminded us that, in ancient Israel, where punishment was fitted proportionately to the crime, "the penalty of false witness was to suffer the civil sanction that would have been applied to one's victim—a very sensible law" (Gary North, *Position Paper on Blasphemy*, Institute for Christian Economics, P.O. Box 8000, Tyler, Texas, 75711). It is an interesting concept, and it is a fascinating exercise to imagine how that might be applied to the Krauthammers and their ilk who keep slinging the mud of "fascist" and "Nazi" at good Americans.

8. Isolationist.

"Isolationist" was originally a smear term used by warmongers against those Americans who were opposed to entering World War II. The implication, of course, was that the anti-interventionists knew nothing and cared less about foreign affairs, and wanted, ostrich-like, to isolate themselves in the world and bury their heads in the sand. Yet, their "isolationist" opponents, who included such great historians and foreign affairs specialists as Charles A. Beard, Charles C. Tansill, Harry Elmer Barnes, and Edwin M. Borchard, knew a lot more about foreign affairs than did their Smear Bund opponents. They knew enough about the ancient imperial-and-dynastic rivalries of the Old World to want to keep America out of that snakepit. They were convinced that American intervention in Europe and Asia, in addition to slaughtering countless innocent Americans, Europeans, and Asians, engorging an unproductive military-industrial complex, and involving us in perpetual wars, would prove counterproductive—like virtually all government intervention everywhere—and only make matters worse. As we careened from one intervention and war in 1917-18, to a series of more extreme interventions, who can deny the justice of their case?

But of course the Krauthammers and the other neocons and smear artists have no wish to engage in rational discussion and argument. What they are desperately anxious to do is to shut down any real debate among Americans by using smear labels to discredit and silence their opposition. And these are supposed to be *ex*-Marxists-Leninist-Trotskyites?

The great libertarian Frank Chodorov, in arguing against U.S. intervention, first in World War II and then in the Cold War, coined the phrase for his own position: "isolationist in politics (i.e. government), internationalist in private relations—trade, cultural exchange, etc."

9. Know-Nothing.

OK, let's put this label to rest once and for all. The Know-Nothings were a powerful, rising party that almost replaced the Whigs as one of the two major American parties (from 1853-55). The Republicans were only able to win out as the major party in the North by stealing the Know-Nothings' thunder, adopting their positions and absorbing their leadership and their members. The Know-Nothings were not "opposed to knowledge" or intellect (Since they—the American Party—were a secret

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society, they answered questions about their organization by saying "I know nothing"—hence the label). Their principles were very clear. In fact, it was only one principle, derived from their position as ardent pietist, millennialist Protestants: deep and profound hatred of the Catholic Church and all of its members.

To accuse Pat, an ardent Catholic, then, of being a modern "Know-Nothing," betrays either total ignorance of history, and/or a willingness to use any lie that comes to hand to smear an opponent. (On an attempt to salvage the Know-Nothing label, see "Nativist," *below*.)

10. Nativist.

One attempt to rescue the Know-Nothing label (see *above*) is to claim since the Know-Nothings were "nativists" (or "xeno phobes"—see "Phobias," *below*) and that Pat is opposed to/hates immigrants, Pat can therefore be called a Know Nothing or at least a "nativist."

But, in the first place, modern historical scholarship demonstrates that there *is no* "nativist" tradition in American history. None. No one was "anti-immigrant" per se. Those Know-Nothings and Republicans, for example, who reviled *Catholic* immigrants as "aliens" or "foreigners," welcomed Norwegian or Scandinavian immigrants as soon as they got off the boat as "true Americans," even if they knew not a word of English. Why? Because these Scandinavians were pietist Protestants, and therefore agreed with the entire religious value-system and worldview possessed by virtually all Northern Protestants throughout the nineteenth century. (With the exception of high church and therefore liturgically oriented German Lutherans, and old-fashioned Calvinists, who were anti-pietist and devoted to the Calvinist creed.)

In short, "nativism," and the desire to restrict immigration, was simply a cover for frenetic anti-Catholicism, which derived from the sort of Protestantism prevalent in nineteenth century America, particularly in the North. The immigration restriction movement was pushed, in particular, in the late 19th century, when it became obvious that demographics were in favor of Catholics: that there were far more Catholic than pietist immigrants (from Germany, Ireland, and then from Eastern Europe and Italy), and that therefore immigration restriction was a surrogate for unconstitutional direct attacks on Catholic citizens. The only exception was the small number of trade unions and their intellectual apologists, who favored restriction as a means of keeping out immigrant labor and raising their own wage rates. But, even for these unions and their intellectual fuglemen, monopoly economics was invariably conjoined with Protestant pietism.

Neither is it fair to say that Pat Buchanan is "anti-immigrant" (see "Hitler!" *above*.) By opposing the influx of *illegal* immigrants into the U.S., he raises important questions about the problems of unlimited immigration—problems that are not so much economic as cultural and political. Are there any vital problems in facing so much Third World and aggressively non-English-speaking immigration that America will soon lose its traditional status as a Euro-American country? Wouldn't it indeed be easier to absorb a sudden massive influx of Englishmen than of Zulus? Are we really going to say that, in our current era of a parasitic, crippling welfare state, that we must be in favor of open borders—and not even be allowed to discuss the problems rationally? Once again, Pat Buchanan is raising vital questions which cannot even be mentioned, let alone discussed, in our current despotic era of thought police and Political Correctness.

11. "Phobias" (Homo, Xeno, et al.)

When are we going to follow our neglected libertarian psychiatrist-prophet, Tom Szasz, in banishing psychosmears and medical-psychiatric analogies in social and political discussion? Ever since Freud, unscrupulous polemicists have used psychological terms with which to smear their opponents, supposedly not in the name of morality or ideology (which can be argued against) but in the name of "psychological science," which, being "scientific," cannot be rebutted. In this way, liberals, in particular, who have been addicted to psychobabble, have used this device in numerous ways to imply or assert that their opponents are a bit crazy: "paranoid,"

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"status anxious," "authoritarian personality," and on and on.

In particular, we have the various "phobias" and "philias"—irrational fear or love of various people or groups. There are two crushing retorts to this landfill. One we have just noted: to challenge the entire use of the medical-psychiatric metaphor in social and political debate, as an illegitimate and scientific device to smear and dispose of one's opponent without having to rebut that opponent's ideas.

The other way to crush the psychosmear is simply to reverse the charge, a variant of the *tu quoque* device ("Oh yeah, you're another." If someone calls you or Pat "xenophobic," just retort that *he*, on the contrary, is a "xenophilac"; "homophobic" can be countered with "homophiliac," and so on). Never allow yourself to be put on the defensive by a psychosmear. Let *him* see how he likes to be hit by an unsupported charge.

Never allow yourself to be put on the defensive by a psychosmear.

12. Protectionist.

How is it that I, an ardent free-trader, am not deeply concerned and in despair because Pat is a "protectionist"? Well, for one reason, precisely *because* I am an ardent free-trader. Because of that, I am able to see, unlike most of the sheeplike media, that the ranters against Pat's alleged "protectionism" come with unclean hands to the table of discourse. Who in the world are the Bushies and the neocons (the major enemies of Pat on this issue), to rant about "protectionism"? What in the world does their vaunted "free trade" amount to? The Bush Administration may prate about "free trade" and Pat's "protectionism" and "isolationism" all it wishes, but the fact remains that the Bush Administration's *actions* have been the most protectionist since the 1930s. And as for the neocons, *their* "free trade" encompasses such drastically *un*free policies as enormous foreign aid and Keynesian global government schemes (such as the IMF, World Bank, numerous managed trade agreements and blocs, ardent support for the viciously statist European Economic Community, and so on), all moving toward world monetary and economic governmental planning. In addition, the neocons support a crippling network of government regulations and welfare-warfare state interventions. Compared to all *that*, Pat Buchanan is a relative free-trader.

Furthermore, these interventions on trade are far more important than a few tariffs or import quotas. My standard answer to libertarians who worry about supporting Buchanan on the free trade issue is this: first, we join Pat in rolling back the American polity to, say, 1900, repealing the entire New Freedom-New Deal-Fair Deal-Great Society, etc. structure, and *then*, after having accomplished and celebrated *that*, we can sit down and have a serious argument with Pat over protective tariffs. Anyone ever hear about *priorities*?

But in addition to this, Pat, compared to *real* "protectionists" in American history, does not qualify at all. He is, as he says, a "trade hawk," wanting tough negotiations for mutual lowering of tariffs and quotas with other countries. In that policy, he is closest to Franklin D. Roosevelt's "reciprocal trade" policy, rather than to the Hoover-Republican protectionism for its own sake. And I think we can agree that as defective as Roosevelt's reciprocal trade policy *was*, it was better than its avidly protectionist predecessor, just as Pat's trade policy, looked at overall, would be infinitely better than that of Bush or the neocons.

But the most grotesque use of the "protectionist" label was the egregious Krauthammer's triumphant declaration that Pat's fairly recent shift to "protectionism" is the culminating proof that Pat is a "fascist." Of all the hate-blinded loopiness in the Krauthammer screed, this is by far the nuttiest. Writes Krauthammer: "Buchanan was long missing an essential feature of the fascist world view: its economics...No longer.

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Buchanan has converted to protectionism..."

Now see here, Kraut. 'Nuff's enough. Have you, for one moment, stopped to realize what you're saying? For there are *real* protectionists—and not just "trade hawks"—in American history, and they were not the German-American Bund. They were the entire Whig-Republican tradition, from Henry Clay to Abraham Lincoln (almost always a Saint in the neocon lexicon) to William McKinley to Calvin Coolidge to Herbert Hoover. Ye gods, Kraut, were all these people "fascists"? For these were *real* protectionists in the genuine sense, that is, men who positively desired a prohibitive tariff wall around the United States, so that the U.S. could develop its "home market" in isolation. As an American historian who is ardently in the opposing Jefferson-Jackson-Calhoun-Cleveland tradition, I deeply resent the implication that "fascism" is a vital part of the American heritage. I mean: supposedly, the neocons, or anyone outside the looney left, detests and reviles the leftist view that America, from Columbus onward, is nothing but a sewer of "racism, sexism, and genocide." But how does Kraut's implication that at least half of the American political tradition has been "fascist" square with anyone who can be called in any sense a "conservative," or even a person able to make rational distinctions?

Human Events reveals, in its illuminating riposte to the smears of Buchanan by Bennett and Krauthammer ("The Disfiguring of Pat Buchanan." March 14), that the Kraut is an enthusiastic supporter of Nelson Mandela and of the "necklacing" African National Congress. Well, well, Kraut! Perhaps all this brings into focus your hewing to the Comintern line of "fascism"? "Krauthammer Explained", at last!

13. Racist.

We need only repeat: Pat Buchanan has, time and time again, set forth his position: equal rights for every American, and eternal opposition to any governmental discrimination, to any quota on the basis of race, color, and creed. *Individual* rights of person and property, not group "rights" as a claim on the jobs or pocketbooks of other Americans. Period. In short; the "rights" of the Declaration of Independence, not of neocons or leftists. The Old Republic, not the New Despotism. 'Nuff said. ■

How many movies can you remember where the *entire* Establishment, from Left through Center to Right, joined together as one in a frantic orgy of calumny and denunciation?

The J.F.K. Flap

by M.N.R.

The most fascinating thing about *JFK*, as exciting and well-done as it is, is not the movie itself but the hysterical attempt to marginalize, if not to suppress it. How many movies can you remember where the *entire* Establishment, in serried ranks, from Left (The *Nation*) through Center to Right, joined together as one in a frantic orgy of calumny and denunciation, *Time* and *Newsweek* actually doing so *before* the movie came out? Apparently, so fearful was the Establishment that the Oliver Stone movie might prove convincing that the public had to be thoroughly inoculated in advance. It was a remarkable performance by the media, and it demonstrates as nothing else the enormous and growing gap between Respectable Media opinion, and what the public Knows in its Heart.

You would think from the shock, shock of the Respectable Media, that Stone's *JFK* was totally outlandish, off-the-wall, monstrous and fanciful in its accusations against the American power structure. And you would think that historical films never engaged in dramatic license, as if such solemnly hailed garbage as *Wilson* and *Sunrise at Campobello* had been models of scholarly precision. Hey, come off it guys!

Despite the fuss and feathers, to veteran Kennedy Assassination buffs, there was nothing new in *JFK*. What Stone does is

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to summarize admirably the best of a veritable industry of assassination revisionism—of literally scores of books, articles, tapes, annual conventions, and archival research. Stone himself is quite knowledgeable in the area, as shown by his devastating answer, in the *Washington Post*, to the smears of the last surviving Warren Commission member, Gerald Ford, and the old Commission hack, David W. Belin. Despite the smears in the press, there was nothing outlandish in the movie. Interestingly enough, *JFK* has been lambasted much more furiously than was the first revisionist movie, Don Freed's *Executive Action* (1973), an exciting film with Robert Ryan and Will Geer, which actually *did* go way beyond the evidence, and beyond plausibility, by trying to make an H.L. Hunt figure the main conspirator.

The evidence is now overwhelming that the orthodox Warren legend, that Oswald did it and did it alone, is pure fabrication. It now seems clear that Kennedy died in a classic military triangulation hit, that, as Parkland Memorial autopsy pathologist Dr. Charles Crenshaw has very recently affirmed, the fatal shots were fired from in front, from the grassy knoll, and that the conspirators were, at the very least, the right-wing of the CIA, joined by its long time associates and employees, the Mafia. It is less well established that President Johnson himself was in on the original hit, though he obviously conducted the coordinated cover-up, but certainly his involvement is highly plausible.

The last-ditch defenders of the Warren view cannot refute the details, so they always fall back on generalized vaporings, such as: How could *all* the government be in on it? But, since Watergate, we have all become familiar with the basic fact: only a few key people need be in on the original crime, while lots of high and low government officials can be in on the subsequent cover-up, which can always be justified as "patriotic," on "national security" grounds, or simply because the President ordered it. The fact that the highest levels of the U.S. government are all-too capable of lying to the public, should have been clear since Watergate and Iran-Contra. The final fallback argument, getting less plausible all the time is: if the Warren case isn't true, why hasn't the truth come out by this time? The fact is, however, that the truth *has* largely come out, in the assassination industry, from books—some of them best sellers—by Mark Lane, David Lifton, Peter Dale Scott, Jim Marrs, and many others, but the Respectable Media pay no attention. With that sort of mindset, that stubborn refusal to face reality, no truth can *ever* come out. And yet, despite this blackout, because books, local TV and radio, magazine articles, supermarket tabloids, etc. can't be suppressed—but only ignored—by the Respectable Media, we have the remarkable result that the great majority of the public, in all the polls, strongly disbelieve the Warren legend. Hence, the frantic attempts of the Establishment to suppress as gripping and convincing a film as Stone's *JFK*.

Conservatives, as well as centrists, are smearing *JFK* because Stone is a notorious leftist. Well, so what? It is not simply that the ideology of the teller has no logical bearing on the truth of the tale. The case is stronger than that. For in a day when the Moderate Left to Moderate Right constitute an increasingly monolithic Establishment, with only nuanced variations among them, we can only get the truth from people outside that Establishment, either on the far Right or far Left, or even from the highly non-respectable supermarket tabloids. And it is no accident that it is an open secret that the heroic "Deep Throat" figure in *JFK* is Colonel Fletcher Prouty, who is certainly no leftist. And one of the outstanding Revisionist writers is the long-time libertarian Carl Oglesby.

One particularly welcome aspect of *JFK*, by the way, is its making Jim Garrison the central heroic figure. Garrison, one of the most viciously smeared figures in modern political history, was simply a district attorney trying to do his job in the most important criminal case of our time. Kevin Costner's expressionless style fits in well with the Garrison role, and Tommy Lee Jones is outstanding as the evil CIA-businessman conspirator Clay Shaw.

All in all, a fine movie, for the history as well as the cinematics. There are some minor problems. It is unfortunate that the founding Kennedy Revisionist Mark Lane, felt that he had to

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leave the movie-making early, with the result that the film does not bring out the crucial testimony of Cuban ex-CIA agent Marita Lorenz, who has identified right-wing CIA operative E. Howard Hunt, Bill Buckley's pal and control in the CIA, as paymaster for the assassination. (See the brilliant new book by Lane, *Plausible Denial*.) According to Lane, heat from the CIA during the filming led Stone to underplay the CIA's role by spreading the blame a little too thickly to the rest of the Johnson administration.

It is vital to get to the bottom of the conspiracy, and bring the villains to justice, if only at the bar of history.

As the case for revisionism piles up, there is evidence that some of the more sophisticated members of the Establishment are preparing to jettison the Warren legend, and fall back on an explanation less threatening than blaming E. Howard Hunt or the CIA: that is to lay blame solely on the Mafia, specifically on Sam Giancana, Johnny Roselli, and Jimmy Hoffa, none of whom are around to debate the issue. A convincing attack on the Mafia-only thesis was leveled by Carl Oglesby in his Afterword to Jim Garrison's book of a few years back (which formed one of the bases for JFK) *On the Trail of the Assassins*. The Mafia simply did not have the resources, for example, to change the route or call off military or Secret Service protection.

Many conservatives and libertarians will surely be irritated by one theme of the film: the old-fashioned view of Kennedy as the shining young prince of Camelot, the great hero about to redeem America who was chopped down in his prime by dark reactionary forces. *That* sort of attitude has long been discredited by a very different kind of Revisionism—as tales have come out about the sleazy Kennedy brothers, Judith Exner, Sam Giancana, Marilyn Monroe et al. Well, OK, but look at it this way: a president *was* murdered, for heaven's sake, and good, bad or indifferent, it is surely vital to get to the bottom of the conspiracy, and bring the villains to justice, if only at the bar of history. Let the chips fall where they may.

One happy result of the film was the conclusive Stoneian argument: if everything is on the up and up, why not open up all the secret government files on the assassination? It looks as if the pressure for opening will win out, but once again, phony "national security" will prevail, so we won't get the *really* incriminating stuff. And some of the crucial material is long gone, e.g. the famed Kennedy brain, which mysteriously never made it into the National Archives. ■

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., is on leave this month.

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